SOME NEW BOOKS.

German Literature in the First Half of th Nineteenth Century

Mary Morison has translated, and the Macmillans have published, the sixth and concluding volume of the remarkable contribution to the critical study of great modern writers entitled Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature by the well known Danish author, George Brandes. Goethe does not figure dominantly in this volume, because, although he lived until 1832, he belongs to the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth century. We hear, however, something about him in a chapter devoted to a comparison of Goethe with Heine from the lyrical point of view To Heine himself almost a hundred pages are devoted. The only other German man of letters who acquired great distinction during the half century ending with the revolution of 1848 and who is here consid ered at proportionate length is Börne. There is, however, a chapter on Immer mann, another on Hegelianism, and a third on three brilliant women. Rabel. Bettina

and Charlotte Stieglitz. As a matter of fact, the period to which Mr. Brandes gives almost exclusive attention in this volume is even shorter than we have indicated. It practically begins in 1817, when a new intellectual movement first found expression in Germany at the Wartburg Festival. For some dozen years thereafter the general intellectual condition, corresponding to the eclipse of political Liberalism, was one of depression relieved by outbursts of self ridicule. The state of stagnation was brought to an end by the news of the Revolution of July, 1830 which electrified public feeling and gave both poets and prose writers new courage

and fresh inspiration. The remembrance of Byron's life and death influenced men in the same direction, and the Polish revolt awakened sympathy and enthusiaem among Germans, in spite of the part that Germany had taken in the annihilation of Poland as a nation. Ludwig Borne, now, perhaps, the most forgotten

German writers, was, like Heine, a Jew. Born in 1786 in the Jewish quarter of Frankfort-on-Main, it was not until a few years before his death, which occurred in 1837, that he made a great name for himself by his "Letters from Paris." these letters he stood forward as the most eminent advocate of Liberalism in politics held high the banner of liberty and justice presented a noble example in respect of strength of character and conviction. but at the same time disclosed a naïve fanatical optimism which proved him not to possess the temperament required in a statesman. It is, however, in Heine the greatest poet of the period from 1819 to 1848, that we feel the vibration of the epech's every nerve. In him modern setry cast off the swaddling clothes of Romanticism. In love, in an appreciation of nature, in his political, social and religviews, in his descriptive, poetic and satiric styles he is the representative man of his own day and of ours, fitter than any other to grapple with modern life in its hardness and ugliness, its charm and its ess, its wealth of violent contrasts. It is on the hundred pages assigned to an exposition of Heine's literary work that we shall here mainly dwell.

The date of the birth of Heinrich Heine is not certainly known, but Mr. Brandes ems it most probable that he was born on December 13, 1797. His father was a merchant in Düsseldorf. His mother was a woman of keen intelligence and deep feeling, and was very musical. She had received a good education, spoke French and English as fluently as German, was a disciple of Rousseau and an admirer of Goethe. She early rebelled against prejudice and conventionality and differed from her husband, who reverenced Napoleon, in being an ardent patriot. Education was her hobby, and she taught her children with great care and patience. Both parents were freethinkers in the matter of religion-the father indifferent, the mother a deist; but they brought up their children

in the observance of the old Jewish ritual.

Heine's father and mother, on whom the brilliant career of the Rothschilds had made a great impression, destined their Harry (as he was originally called) to be a mer chant. Accordingly, they sent him first to a commercial school in Dusseldorf, then for a few months to a banker in Frankfort, and finally placed him in an office Hamburg, where his uncle, Solomon Heine, had risen to be a great man in the commercial world. In 1818, with the help of this rich uncle, on whom he remained prac sically dependent for the rest of his life, Heine began business for himself as a commission agent for English drapery goods. It will surprise none of his readers to learn that in the following spring the firm of "Harry Heine & Co." stopped payment. In the following year the prospective poet left Hamburg and travelled by Düsseldorf to Bonn, there to study law and to worl for the degree which his uncle required him to take. The certificate which he received at the university's matriculation examination in 1819 was to the effect that he knew no Greek and possessed only a slight knowledge of Latin, and was not qualified to enter for examination in mathematics at all; but that he was "not entirely wanting in knowledge of history," and that "his German work, though strange in style, showed praiseworthy effort."

At Bonn Heine attended lectures on the nistory of the German language, on the "Germania" of Tacitus, on the Niebelungenhed and other historical and literary subjects, dividing his time between these and the law course, lectures on Roman German law, &c. A professor at Bonn who for a time undoubtedly had much influence on the young poet was A. W. Schlegel, the leader of the Romantic To him Heine showed such verse as he had then composed, and doubtless also his play of "Almansor," which was written apparently in Bonn, but not published until 1828. It was acted but had no success, partly because of intrinsic worthlessness and partly because of the race hatred felt for its author. In 1820 Heine proceeded to Göttingen with the intention of applying himself diligently to the study of law at the university there. The place proved distasteful to him, and a twelvementh later he moved on to the University of Berlin, where he attended the lectures of the first scholars of the day-Hegel, to whom he was ardently devoted; Bopp, the great authority on Sanscrit: Wolf, the classical philologist, ind Edward Gans, the eminent lawyer The life, nevertheless, that Heine led in Berlin, which was but a continuation of the dissipated life to which he had accustopied binself at Hamburg, was not compatible with any proper progress in his studies. In 1823 he determined to turn over a new leaf, and consequently left Berlin, went first to his parents at Lünoburg, next to Hamburg, and thence returned to Göttingen, where in 1825 he took his degree of octor of laws. Immediately afterward he was baptized. He did not change his religion from conviction of the truth of Christianity; on the contrary, his antipathy to that religion was strong, and | fancy; an essence of poetry and proce in

he was thoroughly ashamed of the step, which he took simply with the aim of extricating himself from the humiliating and galling position of dependence on his uncle, income, office or profession being attainable on no other condition.

The most popular of Heine's books in our day, that with which his name is most inseparably connected, the "Buch der Lieder," published in 1827, consists of groups of poems belonging to different years and periods. The first group, "Junge Lieden" (1817-21), is the weakest. The subjects treated are early recollections of Düsseldorf and of a happy childhood there, the writer's love for his mother, Napoleon worship, much Catholic Rhineland romance, churchyard dances of death, with rattling of bones and all sorts of visions. Of these youthful poems the best are the famous pigrammatic quatrains beginning "I at first was near despairing," the earliest example of the condensation of Heine's style; a few of the sonnets, which are much more impassioned than the great majority of German experiments in this field, and lastly, the inimitable ballad of the "Two Grenadiers."

The second group, which owes its title, "Lyrio Intermezzo," to the fact that it first appeared as a lyric interlude between the author's two tragedies "Almansor and "Radcliff." treats of the same subjects as the first, but in more uncommon metri cal forms and with freer artistic manipu lation. In these poems he sings of love but dwells almost exclusively on its woes as, for example, in the following stanza translated by Sir Theodore Martin:

Thy cheek incline, dear love, to mine. Then our tears in one atream will meet, love Let the heart be pressed till on mine it rest, Then the flames together will best, love!

And when the stream of our tears shall light On that flame so flercely burning. And within my arms I clasp thee tight-I shall die with love's wild yearning.

The same volume of poems included the well known "Ich hab' dich geliebet und liebe dich noch" (I have loved thee long, and love thee still); and the very famous "Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen, die hat einen Andern erwählt" (a young man loves a maiden who another to him prefers). Brandes points out that here, with intentional triviality of diction, and with an imper sonality which is unusual with him. Heine generalizes the human fate which has made of him an erotic poet. The "Buch der Lie der" contains the delightful mountain rhymes conceived in the course of a walking tour which Heine took by way of refresh ment after his law studies in Göttingen, and the collection closes with the North Sea poems, inspired by two visits to Norderney and written in forceful, irregular rhythm Goethe, it will be remembered, had never sung the sea, though otherwise he seemed to have exhausted every other theme, so far as nature was concerned. In Heine's North Sea poems we hear for the first time in German poetry the roar of the ocean, with all its freshness and in all its might. Here for the first time we have shells in the sand beneath our feet, and sea gulls in the air above us. Yet there is comparatively little description; it is the poet's own memo ries, griefs and hopes that fill these verses It is his intense longing to be able to breathe freely that breaks forth in the famous ery with which the ten thousand Greeks after their long and terrible march, hailed the element that spoke to them of home "Thalatta! Thalatta!-I salute thee, C eternal seal". In the same group are comprised some of Heine's most beautifu and unforgettable poems. In one of these, "Die Nacht am Strande," is described the poet's visit to a fisherman's pretty daughter. Masterly is the sketch of her appearance as she sits bending over a fire.

append Leland's version of the lines: Till the flashing, ruddy flame-rays Shine again in magic lustre Which so touchingly peers out From its coarse gray linen covering; And on the busy little hand Which is fastening the garment

In another chapter Mr. Brandes con-

cedes that if Heine is to be judged by his

pictures of real life many an inferior poet

surpasses him. "But think," he adds, his visions, of the world of waking dreams in his poems and in his prose! As a rule he starts closer to earth than other poets. but presently above the darkness of earth a gleaming vision appears—and disap-"The Winter's Tale." considered as a whole, is here adduced as a characteristie example of Heine's artistic procedure. All the twenty-seven divisions of the long poem are constructed on the same plan They begin close to earth, materially with reminiscences of travel, commonplace realistic impressions; then the writer without warning, by unnoticeable transitions, rises to the height of passion, to heart shaking pathos, wild contempt, glowing admiration, destructive or constructive enthusiasm, divine madness, that as it were, rolls thunderbolt on thunderbolt; and then all sinks back once more into the gray dulness of everyday events and situations." From the methodistic point of view indeed. Heine is an epoch maker not only in German lyric poetry but in poetry in general. He introduced a new style, the combination of sentiment and humor in lyric poetry, and a new idea, the introduc tion of prose into poetry, either by way of foll or by way of parody. His assumption of the rôle of epochmaker is here attributed to his historical position, to his having lived at the period when Romantic perver sion of reality was giving way to pessimistic realism. Hence the two elements are fused in his writings. Hence, too, in Mr. Brandes's opinion, it happens that "the most characteristic domain in the province of Heine's art is the domain of chiaroscuro, a chiaroscuro akin to Rembrandt's. To make the central objects stand out from the shadow of half darkness in which they are concealed: to make light, natural light, produce a ghostly, supernatural effect, by conjuring it forth from a sea of dark shadow waves, bringing it, flickering or flaring, out of half darkness; to make darkness penetrable, half darkness transparent-this is Rembrandt's art. Heine's, which is closely related, consists in gradually, impercepti bly, conjuring forth out of the orld of reality and back into it again a perfectly modern, fantastic dream world. At times the vision is in a full blaze of irradiation and the reality is hidden in black darkness;

Another novelty in Heine's lyric style was its unparalleled condensation. His cadences, his alternate female and male rhymes, seem to have been imitated from Wilhelm Muller. Heine's short stanza however, has two marks of superiority over Müller's, namely, more passion and much greater compactness of thought and diotion. One of the surprises, indeed, in Heine's verse was, as we have said, its unparalleled compression. "The poems are all epitomes. They present us with a spiced fragrant distillation of passion, experience, bitterness, mockery, wit, emotion and

but presently the vision fades and the

reality gradually emerges into the light."

combination. Psychologists talk of a condensation of thought; in comparison with the pupil's thought, the ma ter's is condensed. In the history of all mechanism increasing condensation is to be observed. Once there were only church clocks; now people carry clocks in their pocket. That is to say, the mechanism which once required for its wheels and springs the space provided by a church clock now finds room enough in a watch. In like manner many an old tragedy does not contain more thought or more feeling than a Heine poem of two or three verses." Compare, for example, the treatment of the Lorelei legend by Heine on the one hand and by Clemens Brentand on the other. It is quite certain that Heine was indebted to Brentano directly or at second hand for 'the subject of what is in Germany the best known and most sung of all his songs; but the latter's verses will be scanned in vain for a counterpart to the instantaneous, clear, definite picture of the landscape limned in a few words by Heine. The following translation is by the late Miss Emma Lazarus:

The cool air darkens, and, listen.
How softly flows the Shine!
The mountain peaks still glisten Where the evening sunbeams shine.

The fairest maid sits dreaming

In radiant beauty there. Her gold and her jewels are gleaming. She combeth her golden hair. Another example of condensation which as scarcely a parallel in poetry is cited in the verses beginning "Es war ein alter König," which Bowring has thus trans

lated: There was an aged monarch. His heart was sad, his head was gray.
This foolish, fond old monarch
A young wife took one day.

There was a handsome page, too.
Fair was his hair and light his mien; The silken train he carried Of the beautiful young queen.

Here, then, are the dramatis person but their story Heine does not tell. It is only suggested in the third and concluding verse, beginning "Kennst du das alte Lied then?" or, as it has been done into English:

Dost know the ancient ballad? It sounds so sweet, it sounds so sad; Both of them had to perish. Too much love, each for each, they had.

The plastic fancy and the perfected conicism of Heine's style are thought by Mr. Brandes to have reached the acr achievement in the familiar and beautiful verses, "Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam, which Sir Theodore Martin has thus ren-A pine tree stands alone on

A bare, bleak northern height: The ice and snow they swathe it As it sleeps there all in white. Tis dreaming of the paim-tree. In a far off Eastern land That mourns alone and silent. On a ledge of burning sand.

The author of this book would not deny that nothing has been more injurious to Heine's general reputation than his indiscreet loquacity on sexual subjects. With Heine communicativeness concerning his relations with the other sex occupies too important a place and is not always in good taste. It may gain him ten readers for one whom it alienates, but it may well happen that the one thus lost is worth more than the ten gained. Heine defended himself against criticism on this score by declaring toward the end of his "Winter's Tale" that his lyre was the same which had been sounded in days gone by by his father, "the late Aristophanes, the favorite of the Muses." Mr. Brandes is willing to admit that since the days of ancient Greece there has been no wit so nearly akin to the wit of Aristophanes as Heinrich Heine's. The latter has all the chief qualities of the former-wanton wildness, imagination, lyric weetness, shamelessness and grace. On the whole our author is inclined to regard Heine as the wittiest man that ever lived or at least the wittiest man of modern times. Voltaire, no doubt, has been looked upon as a sort of personification of wit, but his wit is sensible and dry, not poetic and imaginative, like Heine's. The latter, of se, cannot allow himself the same freedom of speech touching sexual matters as the old Greek did, but, to compensate for this, he never hesitates to make an allusion that will atone for any want of outspokenness. Now and then there is almost no circumlocution; what, as a general rule, is indicated by a smile or a grimac may once in a while be shouted to all and

sundry with a loud guffaw. Compared with Aristophanes, Heine is, of course, a private stay at home officen Aristophanes held forth to an audience b thousands in the broad daylight of th theatre; when Heine communes with his public he is sitting alone in his room. Mr. Brandes contends, however, that "the scenes which depict themselves simply or the retina of Heine's eye are aglow with more ardent, passionate light than those which Aristophanes embodied on the stage Moreover. Heine's aims are not the purely local aims of the Greek poet, "When h is at his best he appeals to millions who are not of his nationality; appeals, indeed, to the elect among all who can read. His lyric poetry is more personal, more inte more nervous than that of any Greek; his satire is dedicated to the cause of general ideas which did not exist for Aristophanes He is, indeed, no less witty than his Greek forerunner, but he always fought for po litical progress and personal liberty, where the enemy of Euripides and Socrates most frequently fought for a past that was gone beyond recall, a past to which he himsel

most certainly did not belong." It goes without saying that Heine's prose is not on the same level with his verse. In his most famous prose book; the "Reisebilder," he is evidently a pupil of Sterne; in later works, where he has attained to greater independence, he is always lively and amusing, but seldom properly qualified to treat the subjects of which he writes Whether he is discoursing on German philosophy for French readers or on French art for German readers he does it in equally dilettante fashion. In the judgment of Mr Brandes, however, too much has been mad of Heine's superficiality by the pedants among his detractors. Certainly he was not a hard worker, but he was by no means idle, and he possessed a fund of solid and varied knowledge. Still the author of the book before us acknowledges that only as a poet is Heine great; "most of his prose writings treat of the passing topics of the day, and his fame has been actually injured by the publicaton of his letters which, as a rule, present him in an unfavor able light, namely, as entirely taken up with his own interests. Pecuniary difficulties are a tiresome subject, even when they happen to be the pecuniary difficulties

It is well known that Heine did not live to be an old man. He was carried off in the prime of his mental powers by a terrible disease. He had always been delicate and suffering; in his youth he was plagued by severe headsches, and was obliged to be so moderate in the matter of drink that hi friends used laughingly to declare that he contented himself with amelling a bottle of Rhenish wine which he kept in his room.

of a genius."

His nervous system seems to have been ndermined while he was still a young man, but Mr. Brandes asserts that this was to a much less extent the result of dissipation than is generally believed, for "Heine is a real fanfaron des vices, given to perpetual boasting of his own depravity. He was attacked by the disease which is so frequently the fate of those who have lived lives of unbroken mental productivity. An affection of the spine, with paralysis, first of the evelids and in course of time of almost the whole body, consigned him to that 'mattress grave' in Paris, where he lay for nearly eight years." Heine's life, which can neither be called

great nor a happy one, falls of itself into two distinctly defined parts-the life in Germany till the revolution of July, and the life in Paris, from 1831 till his death in 1886. His youthful years in Germany were passed under the oppression of the political reaction against Liberal ideas, and his "Reisebilder" won popularity as an expression of the general political dismind, however, that it was useless to meddle with politics in Germany. The revolution of July having put new life into everything, Heine flew off to Paris, settled there, and was kept there by the embargo placed upon his works in all the States of the Gorman Confederation. The Guizot Government secretly gave him the small pension which enabled him to live in comparative comfort. His acceptance of this gratuity laid him open to accusations, which, although Mr. Brandes will not pronounce them altogether groundless,' he deems in many respects quite unjustifiable. It must be borne in mind that Heine did not understand the art of making or keeping money Many thousands of pounds sterling mus have been made by the sale of his books, but he himself made over the most profit able of them all in payment of an old debt of fifty Louis d'or and was all his life dependent on the unwilling assistance of his rich uncle. "If he and if the little Parisian grisette whom he married had had more idea of economy it might have been unnecessary for him to accept Government support. The fact of his accepting it no doubt occasionally prevented him from criticising the French Ministry freely in German newspapers, but it had no other bad result, and least of all did it induce him to write anything he did not mean." On the contrary, from French soil he waged uninterrupted, unremitting intellectual warfare against the European reaction Our author sees in him Byron's great successor: "Only a few years after the sword of sarcasm wielded in the cause of liberty had slipped from the hands of the dying Byron, it was seized by Heine, who wielded it for a whole generation with equal skill and power.

For the last eight years, however, it was a mortally wounded man by whom the sword was wielded. Yet at no time did Heine write truer, more incisive, more brilliant verse than when he lay nailed to the low, broad bed of torture in Paris. Never has a great productive mind borne superhuman suffering with more courage and endurance. Seldom has the power bestowed over the body been displayed so unmistakably by a human intellect. "To hear such agonies as his in close-lipped silence would lave been admirable; but to create, to bubble over with sparkling, whimsical jest and mockery, to let his spirit wander the world round in chirming and profound reverie, while he himself crippled, almost lifeless on his couch-this was great." Again: "He lay there shrunk to a skeleton, with his eyes closed, his limbs almost moveless, his noble features painfully emaciated; the white, perfectly formed hands were nearly transparent; at times, when he spoke, a Mephistophelian amile passed over the suffering, martyrlike face. At last, as in the case of Tithonus of old, all that really remained of the man was his voice; but it was a voice of many notes, of many whimsies, many

iests.

A pleasant impression of Heine's spiritual condition toward the end of his martyrdom is conveyed by the circumstance that he who had been the most wanton tongued of men and poets on the subject of love changed during his illness into the tenderest and most spiritual laureate of that passion. The last year of his life was sweetened by the admiration and devotion of the young and beautiful woman who, though of German birth, made her ap pearance as a French authoress under the pseudonym of Camille Selden. She was then, we are told, about 28, blue eyed, fair haired, and so charming and attractive that she won, Heine's heart the first time she visited him. Soon he could not live without her; he was miserable if a few days passed without his seeing her, though he was often in such pain that he was obliged to request her to delay her visit. It is in the poems and letters to her, pub ished after Heine's death, that are found the fervency, depth and fulness and exaltation of the passion which had been wanting in the rest of his love poetry. He calls her his spiritually affianced bride hose life is bound up with his by the will fate. United, they would have known what happiness is; separated, they are doomed to misery. The stanza beginning, Ich weiss es jetzt," is translated as follows

I know it now, by heaven' 'tis thou,
Whom I have loved! How bitter now.
The moment we are joined forever, To find the hour when we must sever To sad farewell!

What Mr. Brandes would regard as great, mystic epithalamium, the poem which celebrates the nuptials of the dead poet with the passion flower that blossoms on his grave, is a hymn of resignation in the presence of Death. We refer, of course, to the verses beginning "Du warst die Blume, du geliebtes Kind," which perhaps might be Englished thus:

That flower wert thou, beloved one! By thy kiss I knew thee mine. No flower's tear burns like thine Fast closed were then my eyellds. But my soul fed on thy face; And in the moonlight ghostly.

Prof. Jaures, the French Socialist Leader.

When one considers the immense adance in political strength achieved during recent years by Socialism not only in Germany but also in France, and when one bears in mind the fact that Prof. Jaurès is the most distinguished and. perhaps, too, the most influential representative of Socialism in the French Chamber of Deputies, we cannot but regard as timely and useful the publication of an authorized English version by Mildred Minturn of a volume of essays entitled Studies in Socialism by JEAN JADERS (Putnams). These essays were first published in a Socialist daily paper in Paris, and are therefore addressed to an audience femiliar not only with the main theories of Socialism, but with the various practical questions that have arisen since Socialist ideas have ceased to be merely theories and have become crystallized into party programmes. In the United States, of course, a widespread and inti-mate acquaintance with these ideas cannot be taken for granted, and the translator

therefore has done well to prefix to her English version a summary of the fundamental Socialist theories and of the various methods proposed for their propagation. For the purpose of this review it will probably suffice to condense the forty-three pages of the translator's introduction into a few sentences. Thus, without pausing to examine how the corclusion was reached. we may say that Socialists, though they differ on many points, all agree on the main definition: Socialism is the doctrine that the means of production (that is, capital, land and raw materials, or," in other words, all wealth which is used for the creation of more wealth) should not

be owned by individuals, but by society. How is this doctrine to be propagated until it becomes dominant and accepted in a given nation? Here Socialists differ, not only sharply, but bitterly. On the question of method, as it is called, European, Socialists are separated into two schools: the one comprises the followers of Karl Marx, who are called Revolutionists, Marxists, or Orthosatisfaction. Heine soon made up his dox; the other is made up of those who at various times and from various points of view are described as Opportunists, .Reformists, Revisionists, or Fabians. The distinction is not quite so hard and fast as might at first sight be imagined: For instance, the Revolutionary Socialists do not necessarily believe in the use of force to obtain their ends. Indeed, as Prof. Jaurès points out in the book before us, the partisans of the "General Strike "are the only Socialists who hope to win by other than legal political methods. What the Revolutionary Socialists do believe in is the possibility of establishing the Socialist system in its entirety after they shall have obtained political power. They depend upon the "class warfare" which in some European countries undoubtedly exists, to bring about a revolution, possibly peaceful in character, which will have for its object the abolition of private property in the means of production and the substitution of social or collective property in its place. Their method of action, then, is to rouse non-owners to a sense of their position, and to teach them to look forward to the day when they shall be strong enough to bring about the radical change just mentioned.

The Opportunists, or Reformists, on the other hand, think that the coming change, on which they also count, is too complex to be instituted all at once as a whole. Their ultimate ideal is, like that of the Ravolutionists, the collective ownership of capital, but they believe that they can best reach that ideal by introducing reforms gradually, as the strength of their party and economic conditions admit, instead of hoping to apply a cast iron dogmatic system summarily as a unit. In their opinion, the details are too complicated, the new factors that may have to be considered in the field of industrial invention alone are too diverse for any cut and dried revolutionary action to meet with success The general principle on which Socialists ought to act is clear enough to the Raformists; it guides them in the practical solution of each problem as it presents itself. By the light of this principle they have formulated in every country party programmes, which they expect to see gradually adopted, through the application of their

Fabian method, by various Legislatures. The legislative programmes put forward in different countries by the Opportunist wing of the Socialist party demand, as a rule, the same general reforms, namely, legal limitation of the working day; a legal minimum wage; compulsory insurance against illness, accidents and non-employment; old age pensions; compulsory arbitration on the New Zualand pattern; drastic amendment of factory legislation, especially with the object of abolishing child labor: the substitution of an income tax or land tax for all indirect taxation; and, most important, perhaps, of all, the gradual extenion of the domain of public services (national and municipal), beginning with railways, mines and other "natural monopoies." Socialists of the Opportunist school are also advocates of at least partial disarmament and of the extension of International arbitration, and most of their party programmes contain declarations to that

On the other hand the belief of the Marxists, or Orthodox Socialists, in "revolutionary methods" has naturally had certain practical results. In the first place. it has made those who hold it indifferent to any less sweering social reform. They are working, as they frankly acknowledge, for absolute political power and a complete reconstruction of society. With anything less they are not content, nor are they deeply interested in partial modifications of the existing social order. In the second place, the stress laid by them upon the antagonism of classes makes the Orthodox Socialists unwilling to enter into political alliance with other parties that represent the property owning class, even though such an alliance might, and probably would, result in the gain of certain important advantages for the nonowners. It is not to be inferred that the orthodox Marxists always and every where refuse to indorse the party pro gramme of the Opportunist or Reformist Socialists. While, however, the Revolutionists regard legislative reforms as of secondary moment, and some extremists even look at them askance, as tending to weaken the antagonism between the classes, which they believe to be the indispensable instrument of revolution, the Revisionists or Opportunists regard such reforms as necessary steps toward the establishment of complete Collectivism. The latter hold also that every reform is not only a positive gain on the side of justice, a positive advance toward their goal, but also a valuable means of educating the public mind and preparing the way for the next step. The very great importance attached to legislative action by Reformist Socialists leads naturally to their adopting a different attitude toward practical politics. They wish to bring about certain definite imprevements, and, being as yet always in a minority, they must, in order to accomplish anything, enter into cooperation with other political parties that are willing to carry out at least part of their programme. It is over this question of alliance or coalition with non-Socialists that the battle within the party has raged alike in France and Germany. How close shall the alliance be? "Shall it be purely temporary or of indefinite duration? Shall a Socialist ever be permitted. to hold office in a non-Socialist Ministry? These are the practical questions that agitate European Socialists. We need not remind the reader that the

chief representative of Opportunist or Reformist socialism in France is faures. as Bernstein is in Germany. The imans-lator points out in her introduction that to a French political thinker of the of Jaures the social and political problems seem intimately united. As he looks back over a hundred years, he sees but two great parties, the party of the Revolution and the party of the Counter Revolution The Revolution, according to his special use of the word, is not a sudden topheaval that took place a century ago, or another sudden uph eaval that is to take place century hence, but a long and gradual process of development, begun by those who claimed political rights for all stizens

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those who have in 1789, claimed d economic rights for eme Marxists, like them ev Guesde a do not have this sense tinuity of the Liberal of the un movement. To the m a moderate Liberal Republican is a natural enemy and the tool of capitalism; to Jaurès he is a natural ally, and in a sense the tool of socialism, because in giving his best efforts to main tain republican institutions he is strengthening the foundation without which Socialism must remain a purely utopian ideal.

The translator is fully justified in saying that the difficulties and dangers of the situation with which Republicans nave to deal in France are such as Americans can scarcely imagine. We can see that the present French Government is Liberal and even Radical, in tendency, and is supperted by a majority in Parliament and in the country; what we do not see, or do not comprehend, is, that the opposition which confronts the present French Government, and which tries by every possible means to win over public sentiment, is not an opposition in the parliamentary sense of the word, but a rebellious, seceding fraction of the community, whose real aim is to overthrow the whole Republican system, reestablish monarchy and undo the work of the Revolution. Under the circumstances it was thut natural that in France the Reformist Socialists should unite with other Republicans in the fight against the common enemy. The Revolutionary Socialists, on their side, however, maintain that the union has been too close; that Jaurès and his friends have risked merging the party with the other groups of the Left, and have lost sight of their essentially Socialistic aims. In France the quarrel between the two wings of the Socialist party reached its

climax seven years ago on the entrance

of the Reformist Socialist Millerand into the Waldeck-Rousseau coalition Cabinet. "Affaire Millerand" has served as a text for endless arguments on both sides and has been one of the pivotal issues between the two wings of the French Socialist party. It is worth recalling that at the time when Millerand took office as Minister of Commerce and Industry there was reason to fear, owing to the bitterness of the feeling aroused by the Dreyfus case. that the existence of the Republic was in danger. When in office Millerand three times voted against the Socialist party and as Minister was obliged to receive the Czar, the typical representative of autocracy, when he came to Paris. These acts, the Revolutionists maintained, fully proved their assertion that any alliance between Socialists and bourgeois could only tend to weaken the position of the former, and they wished to expel Millerand from the party. The Reformists, on the other hand, while formally censuring Millerand for his anti-Socialist votes, pointed with satisfaction to the practical reforms he instituted while in office and argued that so much positive gain justified their theory that alliance was a valuable and necessary method of attaining their end. As a matter of fact, Millerand formulated and succeeded in getting passed a law limiting to ten hours the working day in factories where men, women and children were employed, and in the departments under his immediate control as Minister he instituted the eight hour day. He also established certain minimum conditions for all labor on contracts for national public works. His special effort, however, was given to the encouragement and recognition, of organized labor. He created labor councils, the members of which are efected by organized workers and organized employers. These councils form permanent boards of arbitration an deonciliation. which may be consulted by private concerns and must be consulted by the State, and they fix the standard rate of wages and hours for every district, and this standard is at once applicable to State contracts. The same councils make annual reports en the conditions of labor, causes of unemployment, enforcement of the law, &c. The translator of these essays also notes that Millerand introduced, though he did not manage to get passed, a bill to regulate industrial disputes, a moderate adaptation

of compulsory arbitration on the New Zealand model For what Prof. Jaurès has to say about a "general strike," considered as an instrument of revolution, and about other Socialist questions, theoretical and practical, we must refer the reader to the book itself. congratulating them meanwhile upon the fact that the translation has been made by an expert, and is, therefore, accurate and lucid, as well as of high literary quality. A word, however, should be said about the distinguished author, who unquestionably is one of the strongest personalities in the contemporary political life of France. Jean Jaurès is what would be described in Russia as an intellectuel. He graduated at the head of his class at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, and has twice been professor of philosophy at Toulouse. During an interval of four years in his parliamentary bareer, he wrote a history of the French Revolution that is said by some authorities to be based on a more careful study of original documents than any other history of the period. This seems extraordinary praise when one recalls the laborious researches undertaken by Taine. It is, however, as a political leader and orator that Jaurès is best known and most successful. He attends political meetings all over the country, and wherever he goes he communicates some of his enthusiasm and energy to his hearers. In the Chamber of Deputies he makes an incredible number of speeches, hardly ever letting an important debate pass without taking an active, and usually a dramatic, part, and never failing to secure breathless attention from friends and adversaries alike. He is equally at home denouncing the reactionary element in French politics, in exalting the work of "Republican solidarity," in pleading the cause of sanity and justice in international affairs and in upholding the specifically socialistic claims. We add that his personal organ, the newspaper called L'Humanité, contains almost daily articles signed by him, and represents his policy in every department of life, in its advanced interpretation of social agitation and social conditions in general. in its specific attitude toward foreign affairs, and even in its criticism of literature, art and the stage.

Lincoln and Douglas.

Two more volumes of the excellent and exhaustive "Gettysburg" edition of the Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln" (Francis D. Tandy Company, New York) have been published. They are numbered 3 and 4 and are filled chiefly with the speeches delivered in the great debates with Stephen A. Douglas in the 1858 campaign. Full justice could be rendered to these only by the inclusion of Douglas's speeches, which is done here.

The editors have managed to bring together a good many pages of letters and addresses which were not included in the Hay and Nicolay edition. Among these is the speech at Clinton, Illinois, in which Lincoln is said to have uttered the famous saying about fooling the people some of the time, and so on. The evidence is wholly Take a cat to 28 at once."

negative, for while there is no hint of the phrase in the newspaper report, this so condensed that very little of what Lincoln did say appears.

To one volume is prefixed an article by Henry Watterson with verses by Edwin Markham, to the other on address by Frank S. Black with a poem by Paul Lawrence Dunbar. It would have been in better taste to have omitted these additions and to have left the Lincoln material to stand by itself. There are many interesting and well executed portraits. The volumes should have the place of honor in every American's library.

Besant's London.

The last work on which the late Sir Walter Besant set his heart was the new survey of London. In the portion just issued. "Medieval London. Vol. I. Historical and Social" (Adam and Charles Black, Macmillans), his name appears on the title page but the authorship is not quite clear. probably is Besant's work as he left it, or some of the chapters certainly would have been put into better shape if he had

lived. Here in a beautiful, finely illustrated large quarto we have the history of England under the Plantagenets told in its relations to the City of London. It is rather scrappy including bits of antiquarian lore some times more interesting than important, but telling a great many things that the great histories pass by. We are more inclined to find fault because the history of the City itself is not told more consecutively, but after all it was a survey and not a history that Besant planned.

With the chapters on the social life the impressionistic style, the jumping from one subject to another, fits better. We get attractive pictures and glimpses of a bygone world and are ready to generalize from a single phrase or one remnant of furniture. As far as he can the author reconstructs the streets and the buildings of the days before the Tudors. When he deals with names his work seems incomplete. It looks here as though the un-

worked material were offered. The illustrations are excellent. The book is very attractive. London is always the centre of the English speaking people and has a fascination that no other city has, one wholly apart from artistic merits or beauty. This nineteenth century survey of the curiosities it contains and the associations it calls to mind, though it may lack the quaintness of the older antiquaries, was undertaken by a man who knew his London well, and is well worth following by the traveller on the spot or in the library

Joe Jefferson and Francis Wilson.

It is a pleasant book of reminiscences and of gossip that Mr. Francis Wilson has written in his "Joseph Jefferson" (Charles Scribner's Sons), and the reader's main regret will be that Mr. Wilson is not an older man and thus did not know Mr. Jefferson earlier. There is no attempt at a biography; the author limits himself to imp essions. memories and anecdotes. These are rather long drawn out at times and occasionally the point of a story is blurred. For in stance, the great story about Jefferson's meeting Gen. Grant is spoiled in the telling Mr. Wilson, however, has succeeded wonderfully well in avoiding the laudatory tone into which he might have drifted through his own affection for Mr. Jefferson and the kindly feelings he knew his readers would have for him.

For the years in which he came into contact with Mr. Jefferson he seems to have acted the part of a Boswell, noting down impressions and sayings as he went along. He shows admirable tact and discrimination in what he does tell, for there is not a word in the book that will not increase the esteem and affection in which Joe Jefferson is held. The very full account of the experiences of the "all star" cast of "The Rivals," of which Mr. Wilson formed part, will rouse regret that he could not say more of the earlier and more famous "star" oast of the same play, of which Mr. Jefferson and Mrs. John Drew were also the chief

ornaments.

The theme of Anna Chapin Ray's new story "Hearts and Creeds" is the old one of racial instincts and religious differences between Catholics and Protestants. The scene of the story is laid in Quebec, and Canadian politics form the real structure of the plot. Social life, picturesque features and political intrigue in the old city well handled and convincingly presented make up the long tale, in which a high spirited English girl marries a French Catholic and faces the problems which inevitably arise when the child in the house forms the storm centre of religions and domestic conflicts There is much of pathos, much of tragedy and a final surrender on the wife's part which is neither triumphant nor joyful.

The characters of the story are well drawn and the plot is carefully put togethe and filled out with interesting 'material Miss Ray is a good craftsman and seems to know her way in the unfamiliar intricacies of Canadian politics. The book is pub lished by Little, Brown & Co.

Short Tales. A sort of literary Russian salad has been compounded by Frances Little in "The Lady of the Decoration" (The Century Company). There are impressions of Japan and China and Vladivostok, of Japanese and Russians; there is some vague philanthropy; there is a young woman with a needlessly complicated past, who flutters between sentimentality and frivolity. Some of the incidents are managed so crudely that they give the impression of having occurred really, for they are hardly material to the story. The author would have done better if she had kept her impressions of travel and her study of nervous pros tration separate.

It is such a little story that Mr. Ellis Parker Butler has perpetrated in "Pigs is Pigs" (McClure, Phillips & Co.) that it hardly seems worth while to publish separately. The idea is amusing and is carried out lightly enough, though rather overdone at the end. It is too bad that Mr. Kipling should have described the red tape of pig before, but Mr. Butler's treat ment is original.

A wealth of antiquarian knowledge about New York city in the forties, together with curious antique vocabulary, has been put into a love tale, "The Ghosts of Their Ancestors," by Mr. Weymer Jay Mills (Fox. Duffield & Co.). The opening in fashionable Vessy street is promising, but the author's interest in antique bric-à-brac is greater than his skill in telling a story. The climax, which is apparently intended to be humorously sarcastic, is rather about d.

From the Minneapolis Tribune "Speaking of accommodating hotel clerks," emarked a Portland traveller, "the best l ever saw was in a town near Bangor. I ever saw was in a town near Banger. I reached the hotel late in the evening and was assigned to a pretty tidy looking room Just before I retired I heard a scampring under the bed and looked under, espectias to see a burglar. Instead, I saw a couple of large rats just escaping into their hole I dressed and went down to the office and put in a big kick. The clerk was as serely as a summer's breeze.